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## **Working Paper 1/2021**

of the DOC-team 114: “The Contested Provisioning of Care and Housing”

**Benjamin Baumgartner, Valentin Fröhlich, Florian Pimminger, Hans Volmary (Eds.)**

## **The Contested Provisioning of Care and Housing**

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# The Contested Provisioning of Care and Housing

## Table of Contents

<b>A. The Research Concept of the DOC-team .....</b>	<b>4</b>
<i>Benjamin Baumgartner, Valentin Fröhlich, Florian Pimminger, Hans Volmary</i>	
1 Overall Aim .....	4
2 Detailed Problem Definition and State-of-the-Art Research .....	7
2.1 The Contested Provisioning of Care .....	12
<i>Valentin Fröhlich &amp; Florian Pimminger</i>	
2.1.1 The Contested Principle of Market-Exchange in Live-in Care.....	16
<i>Valentin Fröhlich</i>	
2.1.2 The Contested Principle of Reciprocity in Community-based Care .....	20
<i>Florian Pimminger</i>	
2.2 The Contested Provisioning of Housing.....	23
<i>Benjamin Baumgartner &amp; Hans Volmary</i>	
2.2.1 The Contested Principle of Market-Exchange in Asset-Based Welfare .....	28
<i>Hans Volmary</i>	
2.2.2 The Contested Principle of Reciprocity in Collaborative Housing .....	32
<i>Benjamin Baumgartner</i>	
3 Methodological Design and Interdisciplinary and Cross-field Added Value .....	37
3.1 Methods .....	37
3.2 Interdisciplinary and Cross-field Added Value .....	40
4 Work Schedule .....	43
<b>B. Supervising and Mentoring Concept.....</b>	<b>44</b>
<i>Brigitte Aulenbacher &amp; Andreas Novy</i>	
1 Research and Field Experience of the supervisors and mentors .....	44
2 Supervision and Mentoring Program .....	45
2.1 Intensive Supervision of each Sub-project.....	45
2.2 Advisory Board.....	46
2.3 International Hosts and Collaboration Partners .....	47
3 Research Workshops .....	48
<b>References.....</b>	<b>51</b>

## A. The Research Concept of the DOC-team<sup>1</sup>

Benjamin Baumgartner, Valentin Fröhlich, Florian Pimminger, Hans Volmary

### 1 Overall Aim

The planned research project investigates how the provision of care and housing is increasingly contested and reorganised in contemporary societies. Care and housing are core human activities, foundational for a dignified and civilised life: Care is defined as an activity safeguarding and sustaining livelihood (Klinger, 2013, Tronto, 2013). Housing refers to the activity that arranges a place for people to organise their livelihood (Harvey, 2014).

Today, both are increasingly treated as commodities and organised via markets (Aulenbacher, 2020; Clapham, 2018; Wetzstein, 2019; Farris & Marchetti, 2017; Gould & Lewis, 2017; Triandafyllidou & Marchetti, 2015), while at the same time new forms of community-based organisation are emerging that go along with decommodification, both going along with inequalities (van Dyk, 2019; Karner & Weicht, 2016; Novy et al., 2019; Bärnthaler et al., 2020). The planned DOC-team reflects on this market and community shift in the fields of care and housing in terms of a Polanyian “double movement” – the “movement” of their marketisation and a “countermovement” seeking protection from market-driven dynamics – acknowledging that there are further motives shaping both tendencies and their contestation (Abraham & Aulenbacher, 2019; Fraser, 2013; Karner & Weicht, 2016; Novy et al., 2019). Therefore, the project combines a Polanyian with an “institutional logics” (hereafter IL) perspective (Thornton et al., 2012: 3), investigating how economic principles and forms of economic behaviour, in particular (market) “exchange”, “redistribution” and “reciprocity” (Polanyi, 2001: 64), are related to the “institutional order” of society, especially the logics of the state, market, community, corporation and family (Thornton et al., 2012: 67 pp.). The project is

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<sup>1</sup> The project *The Contested Provisioning of Care and Housing* ([www.contestedcareandhousing.com](http://www.contestedcareandhousing.com)) is funded for three years (starting August 2021) as *DOC-team* 114 by the Austrian Academy of Sciences (ÖAW) and is composed of two PhD candidates from JKU, Valentin Fröhlich and Florian Pimminger, and two PhD students from WU, Benjamin Baumgartner and Hans Volmary. Brigitte Aulenbacher (JKU) and Andreas Novy (WU) supervise the project. Julie Froud, University of Manchester, Cornelia Klinger, University of Tübingen and Flavia Martinelli, Mediterranean University of Reggio Calabria advise the DOC-team. Hosting partners are Ewald Engelen, University of Amsterdam, Maarten van Ham, TU Delft as well as Tamás Bartus and Attila Meleg, Corvinus University Budapest.

based on state-of-the-art research in the sociology of care (hereafter SoC) and socio-economic and geographic studies on housing.

The **thesis** of the DOC-team is that the market- and reciprocity-based modes of provisioning of care and housing are part of a double movement shaped by and driving the societal (re-)organisation of care and housing regimes towards either forced commodification or, reinforcing protection from market dynamics, strengthening community care and collaborative housing promoting decommodification. Furthermore, the **thesis** is that a predominantly market- or reciprocity-based provision of care and housing is itself contested towards more or less commodification and more or less social protection and decommodification and results in hybrid forms of care and housing provision shaping inequalities, whether social, socio-spatial or inter-generational. The **leading research question** is how care and housing are provisioned, how this reconfigures forms of inequality, and how this provisioning is contested. This leads to several **sub-questions**: How is the provisioning of care and housing embedded in care and housing regimes, structuring forms of inequality? How do policies, practices and strategies towards commodification advance/promote and implement the dominance of market principles in care and housing provision? How do policies, practices and strategies towards decommodification and social protection advance/promote and implement alternatives to the market principle? How are concrete forms of care and housing provision configured and contested? The **objective** of the project is to shed light on the market-based and community-based configuration and contestation of care and housing provision by investigating their embeddedness in care and housing regimes and the respective policies, practices and strategies.

Drawing on this regime analysis, case studies investigate concrete forms of care and housing provision, i.e. concrete manifestations of these modes in specific organisations, projects and initiatives:

Primarily market-based modes and forms in elderly care are private live-in care agencies (Valentin Fröhlich) and financialised asset-based welfare in the housing field (Hans Volmary). Primarily reciprocity-based modes and forms in the field of elderly care are neighbourhood and local initiatives (Florian Pimminger) and collaborative housing (Benjamin Baumgartner). The empirical analysis of the care and housing regimes and respective modes and concrete forms of provisioning in the Global Cities (hereafter: GC) Vienna, and then in Budapest and Amsterdam, will be multi-scalar.

Market and community shifts in the respective regimes are entangled with multi-level policies and influenced by local, regional, national and supranational dynamics. Global cities are key sites of social innovation (Naegeli, 2016: 115; Swyngedouw, 2018: 539), social disorder (Harvey, 2013, 1989) and gentrification, socio-spatial polarisation and diverse inequalities (cf. Sassen, 1991; Chorus, 2013, van Ham et al., 2020). Furthermore, in the provision of welfare services cities bear growing importance (Matznetter & Mundt, 2012: 282).

All four sub-projects will apply the same mix of qualitative methods. The respective care and housing regimes will be analysed via policy and document analyses as well as expert interviews. These will be executed jointly by the respective teams in care (Valentin Fröhlich and Florian Pimminger) and housing (Hans Volmary and Benjamin Baumgartner). Document analyses and episodic interviews with relevant actors in concrete forms of provisioning will be carried out to investigate policies, practices and strategies of care and housing provision. The project combines sociological, philosophical, socio-economic and geographic perspectives, and its interdisciplinary added value results from: (1) combining the common Polanyian and IL framework with SoC and Foucauldian perspectives (in the care sub-projects) and political economy and geography of the everyday (in the housing sub-projects); (2) developing a common research design and methodical approach; (3) facilitating common cross-field and case comparisons. This triangulation of theoretical approaches, methods and empirical results enables the elaboration of commonalities and differences, and interrelations and interdependencies between developments in the separate fields as well as in different care and housing regimes, and therefore avoids idiosyncratic field interpretations. Furthermore, it situates the research within debates that combine research on care and housing (Reichle & Kuschinski, 2020). The expected research benefit of the project consists of an interdisciplinary understanding of contemporary configurations and contestations of care and housing by cross-field and cross-case analyses, making use of the systematically combined Polanyian and IL perspectives and their implications for social, socio-spatial and other inequalities.

## **2 Detailed Problem Definition and State-of-the-Art Research**

This section details the theoretical and empirical approach by systematising the state-of-the-art research, developing a proper research perspective, and presenting the research agenda for the sub-projects.

### **The Contested Provision of Care and Housing as Polanyian Double Movements**

The project makes use of the Polanyian concept of the double movement to investigate the configuration and contestation of market and community shifts in the fields of care and housing, exemplified by case-study analysis. In Polanyi's work, different meanings of the economy play an important role, exposing the discursive power of a formalistic understanding that defines economics as the method of optimisation. This neoclassical understanding tends to equate "the human economy in general with its market form [...]" (Polanyi, 1977: 6). This economic discourse has promoted the provision of social services, especially care and housing, through commodification, liberalisation and privatisation. The second meaning of economics, introduced by Polanyi and representing his genuine contribution to interdisciplinary research on economic dynamics, is a substantivist understanding of the economy, defining it as "an instituted process of interaction between man and his environment, which results in a continuous supply of want-satisfying material means. The human economy, then, is embedded and enmeshed in institutions, economic and noneconomic" (Polanyi, 1957: 248 pp.). This comprehensive and institutionalist notion of the economy prevents the "economistic fallacy" of formalistic definition and is at the base of this project's research design (cf. Peck, 2013 for a methodological analysis), highlighting the resulting contradictions of market expansion, that only apparently encompasses human existence.

Polanyi criticises "acts of economizing" (Polanyi, 1957: 247) and economisation, i.e. the rise of the (market) economy to an apparently independent domain of human life with specific regularities, as commodification, and demonstrates that market activities are always related to non-market logics. No market functions without institutions, whether property rights, infrastructures or basic provision of health, nutrition, care and housing. Polanyi identified the increasing dominance of market-exchange in the 19<sup>th</sup> century as a major factor undermining the livelihood of ordinary people and the civilisational collapse of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. According to Polanyi, land, labour and money

were treated like commodities, even though they are “obviously not commodities” because they are “not produced for sale” (Polanyi, 2001: 76). Treating these “fictitious commodities” in such a way had a dramatic impact on the social fabric, as they are intimately related to “the most basic ingredients of human existence” (Özel, 2019), and “[l]eaving the fate of soil and people to the market would be tantamount to annihilating them” (Polanyi, 2001: 137). According to Polanyi, the extension of market forces (movement) and the multiplicity of protective measures as well as forms of non-market provisioning (countermovement), particularly in relation to fictitious commodities, constitute a “double movement”. It “can be defined as the action and structure of two organising principles in society, each of them setting itself specific institutional aims, having the support of definite social forces and using its own distinctive methods” (Polanyi, 2001: 138).

Contemporary movements in the care field are discussed in terms of an “economic shift” (Aulenbacher et al., 2018b), transforming care into a fictitious commodity in a Polanyian sense (Aulenbacher & Leiblfinger, 2019; Chorus, 2013; Lutz, 2017) and manifesting themselves in various modes and forms of market-driven provision (see Auth, 2017; Farris & Marchetti, 2017; Vaittinen et al., 2018) and governance (Riegraf, 2013; Theobald, 2015). These movements towards marketisation have led to countermovements, making care a contested terrain in terms of political regulation and social protest (Abraham & Aulenbacher, 2019; Artus et al., 2017; Aulenbacher et al., 2020a; Décieux et al., 2020) and emerging alternative community-based modes of provision (Karner & Weicht, 2016; Laufenberg, 2018; Reimer & Riegraf, 2016).

Movements in the housing field have introduced “regulated deregulation” (Aalbers, 2016: 50), corresponding to Polanyi’s (2001: 147) observation that “laissez faire was planned”. This facilitated the financialisation of housing (Wijburg, 2020), as well as the expansion of market logics into social-housing provision (Wijburg et al., 2018; Morrison, 2016). The resultant shortage of affordable housing has led to countermovements (e.g. collaborative housing projects) that aim to protect the socio-cultural and ecological basis of housing and engage in innovative living arrangements (Hagbert et al., 2020).

## **Polanyian Principles of Economic Behaviour, Institutional Logics and the Provision of Care and Housing**

Economic processes are “instituted”, achieving “unity and stability” (Polanyi, 1957: 249f), by means of “principles of economic behavior” (Polanyi, 2001: 59, 64) or more generally, “organisational principles of the economy as a whole” (Atzmüller et al., 2019: 5): (market) “exchange”, “reciprocity” and “redistribution” (and “householding”, which we do not take up). Thus, while market-exchange is a mode mediated by trade, money, supply and demand, reciprocity is characterised by forms of symmetrical social relations<sup>2</sup>, and redistribution involves allocation and distribution via a central authority (cf. Polanyi, 1977: 35-47; Peck, 2013; Jessop & Sum, 2019). In every society, these principles are mutually dependent and represented in different constellations and institutional arrangements that we call modes of provisioning. This project explores different modes of care and housing provision characterised by a particular, always hybrid, configuration of economic principles, with one – market-exchange, redistribution or reciprocity – tending to dominance.

According to Polanyi, “institutional patterns and principles of behavior are mutually adjusted” (Polanyi, 2001: 51). However, it remains a desideratum how economic principles are institutionalised and embedded in the societal order and how this reinforces and/or changes diverse forms of inequality (Fraser, 2013; Safuta & Degavre, 2013). Therefore, we enrich the Polanyian analysis with the IL perspective, emphasising the “institutional complexity” of society (Greenwood et al., 2011). IL are “assumptions, values, and beliefs, by which individuals and organizations provide meaning to their daily activity, organise time and space, and reproduce their lives and experiences” (Thornton et al., 2012: 2) arising from “institutional orders” of “the family, community, religion, state, market, profession, and corporation” (ibid.: 2, 104). According to this neo-institutionalist approach, different and conflicting logics can go hand-in-hand (Greenwood et al., 2011, see also Friedland & Alford, 1991; Fuenfschilling & Truffer, 2014). Market-exchange in a Polanyian sense can co-exist with activities and strate-

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<sup>2</sup> Reference is made to reciprocity in the Polanyian sense of economic behavior, not in the sense of the reciprocity of caring discussed in the SoC and which is considered to be an asymmetrical relation (cf. Tronto 2013; Safuta & Degavre 2013).

gies shaped by IL, which may enforce or restrict commodification. Reciprocity in a Polanyian sense is not independent from other IL the like market, although the community logic tends to be dominant.

Combining the Polanyian and IL perspectives goes beyond ideal-typical systematisations, and enriches the understanding of hybrid modes and forms of provisioning (see for care: Aulenbacher et al., 2018a; Aulenbacher et al., 2020b; Dammayr, 2019; Léon, 2014; Martinelli, 2017; for housing: Morrison, 2016; Mullins et al., 2012; Van Bortel et al., 2018). The IL perspective enriches the housing and care regime analyses, because it sheds light on the normative and institutional orders and the sense-making activities (Dammayr 2019) by which actors strive to commodify, de-, re- or ex-commodify (Burawoy 2015) care and housing. The systematic combination of the Polanyian and IL perspectives clarifies how actors merge economic behavior with other motives by “combining public and private action logics, and (being) subjected to multiple sets of institutional conditions” (Blessing, 2012: 190). Which logics are in play and which are dominant depends on the concrete institutional configurations and the actor’s embeddedness “in social, cultural, and political structures” (ibid., 80), conceptualised in this project as regimes.

### **Modes of provisioning embedded in Care and Housing Regimes**

The term ‘regime’ is widely used in social science, but suffers from “conceptual polyphony”. It will serve as a “conceptual interface for moving beyond thematic, disciplinary and methodological boundaries” (Horvath et al., 2017: 305). In this project, regime analyses investigate respective multi-dimensional institutional, discursive and policy frameworks which influence the modes and forms of care and housing provision and go along with inequalities (cf. for care Appelt, 2014; Lutz, 2017; Theobald, 2019; for housing Kemeny, 1992; Schwartz & Seabrooke, 2009; Fernandez & Aalbers, 2016). In the SoC regime is defined as the social fabric of “policies, practices, norms and discourses. [...] The term regime therefore emphasises the political as well as the judicial and institutional aspects [...], but also includes social practices and actors” (Bachinger, 2014, 129, our trans.). Similarly, Clapham (2018: 4, 24, 34) defines a housing regime as “a set of discourses and social, economic and political practices that influence the provision, allocation and consumption and housing outcomes in a given country”.

In this project, a regime is the social fabric of norms and institutions, discourses and policies, which influence everyday practices and strategies of actors, and, on multiple scales, enable or constrain modes of care and housing provision. The project will investigate how modes and concrete forms of provisioning are embedded in respective care and housing regimes, their institutional and normative orders (Thornton et al., 2012), and resultant forms of inequality (Aulenbacher et al., 2020a; Leiblfinger & Prieler, 2020; Dammayr, 2019; Kadi & Verlic, 2019; Gutheil-Knopp-Kirchwald & Kadi, 2017; Arundel, 2017). We define policies as „outputs of political systems; they come along in different forms, including laws, regulations or rules” (Knill & Tosun, 2017: 351). Governments shape policies, but often in close cooperation with business and a number of private, civic, community and hybrid organisations. Policies structure the field of action of individual and collective actors. In turn, actors influence (and are influenced by) policies intentionally through strategies and unintentionally through practices. Hence, we understand strategies as activities that serve intentional ends, e.g. coalition building, lobbying or civic networking. They empower and disempower groups of actors, thereby reinforcing or challenging existing or emerging inequalities. Practices are “a routinized type of behaviour which consists of [...] forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, ‘things’ and their use, a background knowledge [...], states of emotion and motivational knowledge” (Reckwitz, 2002: 249). The aim is to investigate how policies, practices and strategies influence movements or countermovements in care and housing.

### **Research Unit Global Cities**

Policies, practices and strategies in care and housing manifest at local, national, European and global scales, influencing regimes and modes of provisioning in particular ways: care and housing being place-based activities, they tend to be regulated by municipalities, nation states and supranational institutions, especially the European Union (cf. Theobald & Kern, 2009). We will locate our investigations in Vienna, Budapest and Amsterdam, ranked as Alpha-tier Global Cities according to the Global and World City Network classification (2020). They have been selected due to specificities of their respective care and housing regimes (see 2.1 and 2.2).

## Desideratum

To sum up, our project analyses the contestation of care and housing in terms of Polanyian double movements. It combines Polanyi's principles of economic behaviour with an IL perspective. The multi-scalar analysis of care and housing regimes explores how market- and community-based modes and concrete forms of provisioning in the three Global Cities are societally embedded and related to forms of inequality. Analysing policies, practices and strategies strives to elucidate the hybrid modes and forms of care and housing provision and their contestation. Although much research has already taken Polanyian or IL perspectives in these fields, interdisciplinary comparative analysis of care and housing is a desideratum; contributing to this emerging and innovative research strand is a key aim of the DOC-team.

### 2.1 The Contested Provisioning of Care (Valentin Fröhlich & Florian Pimminger)

*Valentin Fröhlich* and *Florian Pimminger* jointly undertake **care regime analyses** in the GC Vienna, Budapest and Amsterdam. They refer to a definition of care as a "life-guiding and -accompanying principle" comprising "all theoretical reflections of and all practical relations between people, which result from the conditions of contingency" (Klinger, 2013: 82 pp., our trans.). Care work as "work with and on people" has thereby always been characterised by social inequality and asymmetrical power relations (Klinger, 2014: 31, our trans.; cf. Klinger, 2013). However, modes of care provision vary in time and space, as they are embedded in context-specific care regimes (cf. Lutz, 2017). Besides the common care regime analysis the sub-projects empirically focus on two modes of provisioning: live-in care considered to be based on market-exchange (Valentin Fröhlich) and caring communities considered to be reciprocity-based (Florian Pimminger).

The **thesis** of the care team is that live-in care and caring communities, representing the market and community shift in contemporary care regimes, are part of Polanyian double movements and that both are contested in terms of commodification, search for protection, decommodification and IL. In this perspective, the state as regulator and redistributor can promote or restrict market-exchange and reciprocity. The following table gives an overview over this approach to the field of care:

**Table 1: Principles of economic behaviour, modes and forms of care provisioning and underlying IL**

Double Movement	Movement		Countermovement
<b>Principle of Economic Behaviour</b>	Exchange (Market)	Redistribution (Public)	Reciprocity (Civic)
<b>Mode of Provisioning</b>	Live-in Care	Promote/ Restrict	Caring Communities
<b>Forms of Provisioning</b>	Private For-profit and State-subsidised Non-profit Live-in Care Agencies	Residential Home for the Elderly	Neighbourhood and Local Initiatives
<b>Institutional Logics</b>	Contested dominance of the logics of the market and the corporation, interrelated with the logics of the state, profession, family, and community	Contested dominance of the logic of the state, interrelated with the logics of the market, community, family, and profession	Contested dominance of the logic of the community, interrelated with the logics of the state, family, profession, market, and corporation

Furthermore, the Polanyian and IL perspective will be combined with insights from Foucault’s analytics of power, using governmentality studies to uncover the contradictory agency of the state (cf. Foucault, 2008; 2009; Lemke, 2019).

In each GC – Vienna, Budapest and Amsterdam – the sub-projects on live-in care and caring communities will start with the common care-regime analysis. It addresses the **question** of how the modes and forms of live-in care and community care are embedded in the respective care regime and go along with inequality. The **objective** is to investigate how the normative, institutional, discursive order of the care regime and the related supra-, inter-, trans-, national and local policies affect live-in care and caring communities and the policies, practices and strategies of the respective actors. The care regime analyses draw on this state-of-the-art-research.

### **The SoC perspective on care regimes**

The SoC conceives care regimes as “the pattern of how care is perceived, located, organized, and related to paid work in a society and in the welfare state” (Beckmann, 2007: 374, our trans.), and describes them as the “political and social regulation of the interaction of state, market, civil society and individuals/families in the provisioning of care services” (Appelt, 2014: 56 pp., our trans.). Accordingly, we define a care regime as a normative, institutional and discursive fabric influencing and regulating modes and

forms of care provision. Care regimes are strongly interrelated with employment, migration, gender and welfare regimes, the respective supra-, inter-, trans-, national and local policies, and social inequalities in the relations of gender, ethnicity and class but also intergenerational relations (cf. Appelt, 2014; Chorus, 2013; Dammayr, 2019; Knijn & Da Roit, 2013; Melegh et al., 2018).

### **Live-in care and caring communities in the Austrian and Viennese care regime**

In the case of live-in care the Austrian conservative-corporatist and explicitly familialist care regime (cf. Appelt & Fleischer, 2014; Leichsenring, 2017; Leitner, 2013) orients on cash-for-care policies “to strengthen care in the private home of the user” (Österle & Bauer, 2012: 267). Social policies following these logics of the state and the family as well as the legalisation of live-in care and its recognition as profession combined with migration policies of the EU made the Austrian neoliberal self-employment model of live-in care a forerunner of marketisation and care brokering by agencies which place (mostly) female migrant care workers from Eastern Europe in Austrian households a flourishing business also in Vienna (Leiber et al., 2020; Leiblfinger & Prieler, 2018; Weicht & Österle, 2016; Shire, 2015). Besides this market shift in the Austrian care regime research also highlights the emergence of community-based initiatives establishing new ways of reciprocal caring in rural Austria (cf. Wegleitner et al., 2018; Brauer et al., 2018; Fleischer, 2018). Little research focuses on local community initiatives in Vienna despite the strong neighbourhood identity (cf. Dahlvik et al., 2017) which has nurtured a significant role for neighbourhood initiatives. However, there are pioneer projects in Vienna like assisted community living (Matolycz, 2016: 33 p.), intergenerational housing projects and diverse initiatives and projects of the welfare agencies and, notwithstanding the persistent familialism of the Austrian care regime, research findings show growing interest and acceptance of such new forms of elderly care (Kolland et al., 2018; Illetschko, 2019). Furthermore, research on live-in care in Austria and community-based care in Germany show that both modes of care provision lead to hybrid forms in which also the logics of state, profession, family, and corporation play a role in everyday care practices involving professionals, lays, relatives, volunteers and in the regulation by law and policies. Both modes and forms of care provision, not least their market- and reciprocity-based organisation, go along with different meanings of care, ideas of social justice and social inequalities (Aulenbacher et al.,

2018a: 352; cf. *ibid.*, 2018b; Aulenbacher et al., 2020a; Bachinger, 2015, 2016; Haubner, 2017; Haubner & van Dyk, 2019; Leiblfinger, 2020; Prieler 2020; Reimer & Riegraf 2016; van Dyk, 2018). Research on the challenges which the Austrian care regime is facing in regard to the Covid-19-pandemic has started (Leiblfinger et al., 2020; Lichtenberger & Wöhl, 2020).

Despite this well elaborated state-of-the-art research there is no comparative analysis of the embeddedness of live-in care and caring communities in the Austrian or Viennese care regime. The care team strives to fill this blank space with regard to Vienna. It investigates how the Viennese care regime, its normative, institutional and discursive order and the respective supra-, inter-, trans-, national and local welfare, employment, migration, gender, and, with regard to the common theme of the DOC-team, housing policies enable or restrict, regulate and deregulate live-in care and caring communities and thereby promote or constraint the market or community shift in care provision. Furthermore, it strives to show how these policies lead to modes and forms of care provision which do not only refer to the logics of the market and community but also of the state, profession, family and corporation and how this go along with the commodification, de-, re- and excommodification of care and with social inequalities. Last but not least it investigates how policies react to the pandemic and try to adapt the regulation and practice of live-in care and caring communities to given and changing conditions.

### **Approaching the analysis of the care regimes in Budapest and Amsterdam**

The research design of the care regime analysis in Vienna will be discussed with the international collaboration partners to elaborate how it can provide insights for the further analysis of Budapest and Amsterdam. These GC represent, with isolated parallels, different types of care regimes. Hungary's post-socialist regime, categorised as an Eastern European regime in "transition" (Széman & Tróbert, 2017: 207), is faced with ageing and emigration (Monostori & Gresits, 2020; cf. Österle, 2014: 374), as well as pronounced intergenerational inequalities (Lendvai-Bainton, 2017; cf. Ágh et al., 2020, 13). Lately, the national government has expedited a "politicisation of embedded neoliberalism via appeals to national identity, solidarity, and sovereignty" (Bohle & Greskovits, 2019: 1085), "where the social protection system is actively and strategically mobilised to gain and sustain political support", and which is discussed in terms

of the “end” of the welfare state (Lendvai-Bainton, 2017: 401). The Hungarian regime of elderly care is strongly characterised by family-based elderly care (Gál, 2017: 21). In terms of live-in care, it was already stated that it is a central "sending country" (Mélleghe et al., 2018). Little research has been published on community-based care, although Hungary has been mentioned with regard to social innovation (Széman & Tróbert, 2017). Amsterdam is notable for its community-based and market-driven elderly care arrangements. A recent growth of private live-in care has been observed in the Netherlands (cf. Da Roit & Bochove, 2017; Horn et al., 2019), as well as strong engagement of civil society in local initiatives (Kelders et al., 2016; Monsen & Jos, 2013). In both GC the care regime analysis will investigate the embeddedness of live-in care and caring communities in an adapted, but comparable way as described in the case of Vienna drawing on the expertise of the international collaboration partners.

## **Fieldwork**

The care regime analyses combine literature review, policy- and document analyses and expert interviews with stakeholders, e.g. representatives of politics and administration; self-organised associations of care workers, unionists, civil society organisations, representatives of associations of care agencies.

### **2.1.1 The Contested Principle of Market-Exchange in Live-in Care (Valentin Fröhlich)**

Drawing on Polanyian research and the joint care-regime analysis, the sub-project on movements towards marketisation in elderly care focuses on the brokering of live-in care, as a mode of care provisioning dominated by market-exchange, by studying cases of the concrete forms of private live-in care agencies and state-subsidised non-profit agencies embedded in particular care regimes. While the principle of market-exchange dominates, this mode and forms of provisioning show a hybrid and contested configuration of different economic principles and logics of the market, corporation, state, family and community.

The primary **thesis** of this sub-project is that the formal economisation and commodity fiction (Polanyi 2001: 71) of care and care work undermines comprehensive care. The second is that the dominance of market and corporations, although contested, restructures other IL with far-reaching consequences for care-givers and -receivers. The sub-

project examines how policies regulate or deregulate marketised elderly care, how they influence or are influenced by strategies of key actors and everyday practices, and how this hybrid configuration of care provisioning affects care and inequalities of gender, ethnicity, migration, class, and age.

The subsequent empirical study aims to answer the following **questions**: What combinations of economic behaviour and IL are represented? How do policies, practices and strategies advance or restrict the dominance of the market principle in the provision of live-in care and how is this contested? How does the marketisation of care reduce or exacerbate inequalities? The **objective** is to shed light on how far care has become a commodity and whether and in which ways society is promoting or counter-acting this movement.

### **State-of-the-art research, desiderata, research agenda**

This sub-project conceives the market shift as a reconfiguration of the provisioning of live-in care through commodification, marketisation and corporatisation (Farris & Marchetti, 2017). Commodification refers to the commodity fiction of care and care work (Aulenbacher et al., 2018a; Aulenbacher & Leiblfinger, 2019; Weicht, 2019). Marketisation is understood as spread of market principles to the provisioning of care, aggravating the invocation of care and care work “as a commodity, and the individual in need of care as a consumer” (Anttonen & Häikiö, 2011: 71). Corporatisation of care refers to “the growing presence of for-profit companies [...] in the provision of care services” and “the adopting of corporate practices” (Farris & Marchetti, 2017: 116). These tendencies simultaneously evoke social reactions of decommodification (Polanyi, 2001: 35 pp., 79, 139), leading to a double movement in the contested field of live-in care (Aulenbacher et al., 2020a).

The increasingly dominant mode of marketised live-in care is contested by different actors and different logics (cf. Aulenbacher et al., 2018a; b; Aulenbacher et al., 2020b). In this context, research on Austria has identified complicity between the state and care-service users (Bachinger, 2016; Weicht, 2019), “modernising” elderly care, traditionally provided by families (Appelt & Fleischer, 2014). This legitimises a form of marketisation “in the setting of the home care ideal” (Aulenbacher et al. 2020a, 2; cf. Weicht, 2015) through the “construction of self-employed care workers in the private household” (Aulenbacher & Leiblfinger 2019: 250). As a result, competing live-in care

agencies flourish in a growing care-market, brokering the fictitious commodity of care and care work (Aulenbacher et al., 2020; Leiblfinger & Prieler, 2018). Although the Netherlands are characterised by a different framework – i.e. greater acceptance of institutional care arrangements, more strictly administered cash-for-care benefits and a broad and affordable range of formal LTC services (Horn et al., 2019) –, a growing, albeit much more regulated live-in market has already been observed (Da Roit & van Bochove, 2015). For the case of Hungary, it has been stated that home-based care is “still underdeveloped in general, leaving a significant share of needs unmet” (Gal, 2017: 21). The sub-project investigates how far care and care work have been turned into a commodity and which constellations of the principles of market-exchange, redistribution and reciprocity are represented in this emerging configurations. Safuta & Degavre (2013) have shown that reciprocity is a key factor for care workers to ensure social protection, or is used “instrumentally” to commodify oneself.

Further, the project examines how logics of the state (e.g. cash-for-care policies, legalisation, regulation), family (e.g. idealising “loving” and intimate home-based care within the family) and profession (valorisation and optimisation of professional care services) reinforce or hinder the empowerment of the market and corporation (cf. Aulenbacher & Leiblfinger, 2019; Aulenbacher et al., 2018a; Aulenbacher et al., 2020a). By analysing live-in care agencies and the principles and IL in the field, the sub-project strives to broaden the understanding of the market-shift and its effects. Foucault's analytics of power and his later work enable a closer examination of the movement towards marketisation of live-in care and the extension of economic logics to the organisation of social life. This makes it possible to critically conceive of subjects as “entrepreneurs of themselves” (Bröckling, 2015) and to problematise an opposing juxtaposition of market and state (cf. Foucault, 2008; 2009; Fröhlich & Pimminger, 2020).

The examination of the marketisation of care in general and live-in care in particular demands a multi-scalar perspective and a “context-dependent analysis of markets within social-structures” (Weicht, 2019, 262). The sub-project studies how policies regulate or deregulate field-specific practices and strategies, and how these in turn influence policies. Austria displays an extremely complex constellation in which, through legalisation and regulation, formerly illegal practices were legitimised and affordable home-based care provisioning guaranteed, while simultaneously marketisation and commodification were promoted (Leiber et al., 2020, 6). The state strategy consists on

the one hand in limiting in-kind allowances (Bachinger, 2014) and on the other hand in creating quality seals (BMASGK, 2019: 48). This has a direct impact on agencies that recruit care workers not on the basis of qualifications but on the corporate goal of cost reduction (Bahna, 2016; Bahna & Sekulová, 2019; cf. Melegh et al., 2018), and focus on the “customers” who buy the supplied product (cf. Aulenbacher et al., 2020b). The practice of extensive wage-squeezing is criticised by some, mostly large, agencies, which demand stricter regulation and want to compete in higher-quality segments (ibid.; Aulenbacher & Leiblfinger, 2019). In the Netherlands, an ongoing restructuring of policies in favour of informal and individual live-in care as well as an increased demand can be reported, but these amendments are partly at odds with social norms regarding the provision of care (Horn et al., 2019). For the example of the sending country Hungary, it was shown that there are massive disparities between localities and significant care deficits in certain local governments, leading to a great importance of the church and a high-priced private brokering (Gyarmati, 2019; Hegedüs & Szemző, 2010).

For care workers, the self-employment model not only presupposes precarious working conditions and circumvents labour regulations (Leiblfinger, 2020; cf. Steiner et al., 2019), but also promotes self-economisation and self-exploitative tendencies (Prieler, 2020). The COVID-19 pandemic has intensified the discrepancy between decent care and poor working conditions, and has brought the private and “invisible” work of migrant live-in carers to public attention (Leiblfinger & Prieler, 2020), but to little effect (Matei, 2020). As a result, self-employed carers are dependent on “social self-defence” through organising in groups or on social media (ibid.). Given the highly contested field of live-in care and the current challenges, the sub-project examines how the marketisation and commodification of care reduces or aggravates inequalities in the feminised field of live-in care (Leiblfinger, 2020), characterised by migration and ethnic and class inequality.

The implementation of quality seals, the demand for stricter regulations (Steiner, 2020), and care protests (Schillinger & Schilling, 2017) are understood within the sub-project as countermovements in the field of live-in care, but are also examined with regard to whether they push markets “towards the next stage of development” (Aulenbacher et al., 2020, 4). Insights from Foucault’s analyses (2008; 2009), viewing re-

sistance as a component of power relations, complement the examination of the double movement and highlight the productive character of not-solely repressive movements and countermovements.

## **Fieldwork**

The sub-project will perform six case studies of live-in care agencies, beginning in Vienna and continuing in Budapest and Amsterdam (two in every city). The case selection will follow theoretical sampling along the conceptual framework of Polanyian principles of market-exchange (for-profit private agencies) and redistribution (state-subsidised non-profit agencies). For each case, documents on policies, task schedules, overall care concepts, strategy papers, mission statements, internal and external reports will be analysed. In addition, four episodic interviews per case will be conducted with live-ins, management and administrative personnel of live-in-care agencies, recruiters, works councils, and quality management.

### **2.1.2 The Contested Principle of Reciprocity in Community-based Care (Florian Pimminger)**

This sub-project focuses on countermovements towards community-based reciprocal elderly care, by conducting case studies of concrete forms of neighbourhood care initiatives. The specific focus lies on the interrelations of the examined initiatives with (local) welfare and care regimes and the non-profit (third) sector. The scrutiny of how community-based care arrangements are regulated by, connected with, supported or restricted by policies is decisive for understanding the current community shift. The project investigates how the IL of the community, state, market, and family, as well as economic principles, interact in practices and strategies in community-based modes of provisioning, and how care is de- or ex-commodified.

The **thesis** is that concrete forms of community-based care for the elderly depict countermovements, and thereby restructure the field of elderly care by reinforcing social cohesion and reciprocity. The **questions** guiding the research are as follows: How is the community-based provisioning of care configured and contested? Which combinations of different principles of economic behaviour and IL are represented? How do policies, practices and strategies advance or restrict the dominance of the principle of reciprocity and community logics in the provisioning of community-based care? Which

contradictions arise from the interplay of economic principles and IL? How does community-based care reduce or exacerbate inequalities? The **objective** is to investigate how the provisioning of care and the dominant economic principles and IL are configured in the field of community-based elderly care, how this impacts forms of inequality and how this is associated with commodification.

### **State-of-the-art research, desiderata, research agenda**

Community-based care practices, e.g. in terms of mobile services, intergenerational housing projects or initiatives that establish caring communities in districts, neighbourhoods or villages, are spreading. Although community-based care is growing in importance in Austria, for example in rural initiatives (cf. Wegleitner et al., 2016; Brauer et al., 2018) and in official strategic programmes (cf. Bundeskanzleramt, 2020: 174) calling for the establishment of a community-nursing concept following the model of Buurtzorg (see also Hauer, 2016; Leichsenring & Straflinger, 2017), it still represents an empirically under-researched field. The phenomenon of caring communities is discussed differently, as community-based forms of care provisioning may be a reaction to forced economisation, as “substitution of insufficient public care provision” (Aulenbacher et al., 2018a: 356), or as a response to cuts in welfare and care services “when the state or other actors withdraw or do not expand fast enough to meet increased demands” (Leibetseder et al., 2017: 140; cf. Montagut et al., 2016; Valdivia & Ortiz Escalante, 2019). In addition, an emerging powerful discourse addresses the lack of care and respect for vulnerable groups among the elderly, calling for a new culture of care in the form of caring communities (Klie, 2019), dementia-friendly communities (cf. Rothe et al., 2015), community-based “care sharing” (Habicht, 2018), “compassionate communities” (Wegleitner et al., 2016) or “care-full community economies” (Dombroski et al., 2019) – in all, a “culture of cooperation and solidarity” (Winker, 2015: 177, our trans.). This sub-project takes the definition of local initiatives as “collective practices that arise at the municipal or neighbourhood level for creating or sustaining the welfare of individuals, groups or communities through the provision of services” (Häikiö et al., 2017: 281).

Studies emphasise that community-based forms of care provisioning can make ageing and care for the elderly visible, e.g. by removing taboos (Wegleitner & Schuchter, 2018), and can thus initiate a process of politicising elderly care (Laufenberg, 2018).

Furthermore, community care promotes the “sensitization of the population also specifically to the strengthening of endogenous potentials in the community” (Brauer et al., 2018: 3, our trans.), enabling social inclusion “through a transformation of social relations” (Laufenberg, 2018: 85, our trans.; cf. Alisch, 2014). By analysing concrete initiatives and its underlying IL, the sub-project seeks to expand the sociological understanding of the community shift and its actors and their motivations for action and engagement. It is precisely these important prerequisites for community-based care that are made more difficult by the COVID-19 pandemic.

There is an incipient defamilialisation through a new “mix of paid and unpaid, unprofessional and voluntary, semi-professional and professional services” (Reimer & Riegraf, 2016: 28, our trans.), as well as through reciprocal neighbourly relationships characterised by “compassion, friendship and a sense of satisfaction” (Pleschberger & Wosko, 2017: 562). This creates the possibility of detaching “doing care” from “doing gender” (West & Zimmerman, 1987; cf. Riegraf, 2019: 770). Research has indicated that gender inequalities sustaining care arrangements within families and beyond are increasingly challenged within caring communities (Wegleitner et al., 2018: 10). However, it is a desideratum to investigate to what extent the dominant community logic contributes to new family, intergenerational, and gender arrangements. The sub-project will examine how community-based care provision leads to “institutional contradictions” (Friedland & Alford, 1991: 262), a “rearrangement” (Aulenbacher et al., 2018a: 348), or even an overcoming of the conventional logics which determine gender roles as well as traditional divisions of labour.

However, it is noted critically that the community shift may represent a socio-political step backward towards greater social interdependence (van Dyk & Haubner, 2019), and that – in the Netherlands, for example – the rise of community-based care is accompanied by redefining welfare policies (Kelders et al, 2016). In this context, care is subjected to “double privatization” (Haubner, 2019: 205), driving both market-led commodification and the “increased activation of informal self-help by civil society” (ibid., 206, our trans.), and thus “has the potential to become a catalyst for informalization and precarization” (van Dyk, 2019: 290; our transl.). Taking up the Janus-faced character of these arrangements (Häikiö et al., 2017), the project attempts to clarify what strategies are pursued, which policies are implemented and how municipalities interact

with national, transnational, or supranational actors and activities for promoting communities' innovation (cf. Széman & Tróbert, 2017; van Eenoo et al., 2015). The sub-project seeks to examine how far the community shift itself is accompanied by forms of commodification, e.g. through hybrid arrangements between corporations, civil society, and the state, as well as NPM strategies (cf. Weber, 2020), aiming to better understand the fluid interaction between decommodification and commodification.

This sub-project analyses community-based care as new arrangements of care provisioning initiated by civil society from the perspective of a Polanyian countermovement which is also thwarted by commodification tendencies. Analysing the "privatisation of the social question" (cf. van Dyk, 2019), the ambiguity of community care is augmented by Foucault's analyses of power and governmentality, conceptualising community-based forms of care as expressions of a new regime of self-responsibility (cf. Pyysiäinen et al., 2017; cf. Lemke, 2001: 201).

### **Fieldwork**

This sub-project will explore, first in Vienna and then in Budapest and Amsterdam, concrete policies, practices and strategies associated with community-based forms of elderly care and how they affect their provisioning. The empirical research contains six case studies of local neighbourhood care projects for the elderly (two in every city). The selection is based on theoretical sampling along the conceptual framework of the Polanyian principle of reciprocity, as well as the innovation and charisma of the initiatives that they spread throughout the city. For each of the six cases, documents like media content, care-concepts, strategy papers, mission statements, website content, internal and external reports will be analysed. In addition, 24 episodic interviews (four per case) with involved actors (volunteers and professionals) and relatives of the elderly will be conducted.

## **2.2 The Contested Provisioning of Housing (Benjamin Baumgartner & Hans Volmary)**

*Benjamin Baumgartner* and *Hans Volmary* jointly undertake housing-regime analysis. Housing is the activity that arranges a place for people to organise their livelihood. It constitutes an existential human activity to satisfy basic human needs such as shelter and security by transforming the environment into a specific place – a home. This is entangled with cultural meaning leading to and resulting from a particular mode of living

(Reckwitz, 2019). The place of housing creates a sphere of privacy within “one’s own four walls”, but also includes one’s surroundings (Foley, 1980), especially material, social and ecological infrastructures that shape the concrete form of human-nature relationships, socio-cultural integration, and socio-economic provision (Harvey, 2014; Reinprecht, 2017; Haberl, 2017). For Polanyi (2001: 191), housing is embedded in the social (“health and sanitation”) and ecological (“to breathe fresh air of nature”) infrastructures that form part of the habitation which countermovements seek to protect from market-induced improvement.

Furthermore, housing is of economic importance, as both an individual asset and a key economic sector (including the construction industry and real-estate services). The increasing marketisation of housing deeply affects the socio-economic system: it increases profits, while endangering affordable and sustainable housing. Polanyi captures this conflict between marketisation and habitation as part of the double movement. Our **thesis** is that current movements towards marketisation as financialisation, and countermovements as forms of collaborative housing, can be considered a double movement, resulting in contested modes and forms of provisioning. Financialisation is defined as “the spread of (financial) market-oriented rationality” (Heires & Nölke, 2014: 24, our trans.), while collaborative housing is “as an umbrella term that encompasses a variety of housing forms with different degrees of collective self-organization” (Czischke et al., 2020). The housing team will study both sides of this double movement to explore housing provision as contested: movements towards improvements and marketisation, and countermovements that protect habitation. The regulatory and fiscal frameworks of multi-scalar public authorities are ambivalent in that they can both constrain or enable movements and countermovements. We operationalise Polanyi’s principles of economic behaviour together with an IL perspective to investigate policies, practices and strategies in housing provision.

**Table 2: Principles of economic behaviour, modes and forms of care provisioning and underlying IL**

Double Movement	Movement		Countermovement
<b>Principle of Economic Behaviour</b>	Exchange (Market)	Redistribution (Public)	Reciprocity (Civic)
<b>Mode of Provisioning</b>	Rent & Ownership	Municipal Housing	Co-Housing
<b>Form of Provisioning</b>	Private Rental Units; Investment Apartments	“Gemeindebau”	Limited-Profit Companies; Collaborative Living
<b>Institutional Logics</b>	Contested dominance of the logics of markets and corporations (real estate, financial, construction industry), inter-related with other logics, especially state and family	Contested dominance of the redistributive logic of the state, inter-related with logics of the market, state, corporation, and profession	Contested dominance of the logic of self-organised civil society, importance of reciprocity, strongly interrelated with logics of the state, family, community, market, and corporation

The housing team seeks to answer the following **questions**: How are concrete forms of housing provision embedded in housing regimes and how does this (re)produce different forms of socio-spatial and socio-economic inequality? The **objective** of the regime analysis (for each global city) is to show how modes of housing provision are embedded in specific contexts, giving housing provision its concrete form.

### **Perspectives on the political economy of housing regimes**

Modes and forms of provisioning of housing are embedded in a time-space-specific political economy of housing (Aalbers, 2016; Wetzstein, 2019). Simultaneously, mundane everyday practices and embodied experiences “attend to the embeddedness of these into larger, political, economic, and cultural structures” (Leitner et al., 2019: 11). Housing regimes are hybrid mixes of economic principles and IL (Christophers, 2013; Runonavaara, 2020), conceptualised in three different but related approaches: (1) welfare typologies; (2) path-dependency and (3) varieties of residential capitalism (Clapham, 2018; Ruonavaara, 2020). Key insights will guide our housing regime analysis – the importance of (1) political ideology and different modes of provisioning; (2) historic institutionalized decisions; and (3) the role and degree of financialisation. We define a housing regime as a set of norms, institutions, discourses, and practices that enable and constrain modes of housing provision. Although considered an essential part of

welfare regimes, it has been called the “wobbly pillar under the welfare state” (Torgersen 1987: 1), due to the significance of private consumption and market provision. Housing intersects not only with welfare regimes (Kemeny, 2006; Lennartz, 2010; Matznetter & Mundt, 2012), but also with financial markets, leading to periodic booms and busts (Schwartz & Seabrooke, 2008; Fernandez & Aalbers, 2016; Wijburg, 2019). Liberalised labour markets lead to polarised purchasing power (Allen & Hamnett, 2019; Arundel & Lennartz, 2020; Reichle & Kuschinski, 2020), and migration regimes (Muellbauer & Murphy, 2008; Sika and Vidová, 2017) influence changes in housing demand. Different housing regimes give preference to different policy measures (e.g. making mortgages accessible and thereby supporting homeownership vs. subsidising land for affordable rental housing). The current Covid-19 pandemic and required self-quarantine is increasing dependencies on adequate (Garber, 2020) while also challenging collaborative housing (Czischke, 2020). The associated economic downturn is expected to adversely affect households’ ability to cover housing costs (Rogers & Power, 2020; Aalbers, 2020). Governments around the world have responded with a set of policy measures such as moratoriums on rents and evictions or mortgage reliefs to mediate some of these effects (Farah, 2020). The adequacy and variation of these policies in different regimes warrants research.

Studies often analyse national housing regimes (Matznetter & Mundt, 2012; Hoekstra, 2020), but subsequently adapt findings to the local context (Clapham, 2018). The housing team undertakes its regime analysis on the level of the global city in a multi-scalar way, as there is no pre-given dominant scale of analysis, since local, national and supranational regulation and policies, as well as their interrelations, impact on housing outcomes (Chowdhury et al., 2011). While some scholars identify tendencies to download responsibilities from federal to municipal governments (Zhang, 2020), others “recognize the continuing relevance of the national as a mediating dimension that influences policy developments” (Varró & Bunders, 2020: 220). We acknowledge this context-dependent relationship of multiple scales by carrying out document and policy analyses of local, regional and national states as well as EU institutions without a priori prioritisation of any scale. Despite extensive research, a systematic multi-scalar regime analysis integrating all three approaches to housing-regime analysis is a desideratum.

A comprehensive approach is, however, decisive for grasping movements of marketisation and the (re)emergence of countermovements due to the increased importance of finance.

### **Market-dominant and reciprocal modes of provision in the Viennese housing regime**

Vienna has a long history in social housing, and its housing policies have been widely praised for social inclusion and affordability (Marquardt & Glaser, 2020). Recently, it has experienced increasing pressures towards marketisation (Kadi, 2015) and community-based provision (Czischke, 2017; Gruber & Lang, 2018). 'Red Vienna' (1919-34) started as an emancipatory municipal project addressing the poor living conditions of the working class. It developed an innovative top-down approach centred on municipal housing (Kadi & Suitner, 2019). The post-World War II period was characterised by corporatism and policies centred around a male breadwinner model (Reinprecht, 2017). Over the last two decades, retrenchment and deregulation have had an impact on Vienna, but less so than other European cities (Vollmer & Kadi, 2018). In Vienna, collaborative elements have developed mostly in close cooperation with local authorities, e.g. development tenders have to take "social responsibility" into account and/or reserve land for collaborative projects (Gruber & Lang, 2018). There exists a broad political consensus and commitment that housing provisioning must remain a key municipal responsibility (Zupan, 2020). However, the Viennese housing regime is challenged by growing inequalities, sustainability concerns, population growth, and discrimination against non-citizens (Reinprecht, 2017).

Housing research has increasingly adopted an IL approach to study the organisational hybridity of housing associations, underlying conflictual logics and resulting difficulties in providing affordable housing (Morrison, 2016; Mullins et al., 2012). More hybrid and complex collaboration among actors in "co-creation", "co-production" and "finance" of affordable housing have been highlighted (van Bortel et al., 2019). Overall, studies have focused on the conflict between the long-term social welfare logic of the state and the short-term profit-oriented logic of the market. We will investigate other field-specific IL, including, for example, state and third-sector logics shaped by a corporatist history (Reinprecht, 2017), and family/household logics affected by a gendered division of labour and socio-demographic change (Bärnthaler et al., 2020). Such an IL analysis represents a desideratum in the current IL literature on housing.

## **Housing Regimes in Budapest and Amsterdam**

The multi-scalar regime analysis will be conducted in the three global cities jointly. Vienna and Amsterdam share a (social-democratic) corporatist legacy. While the former conserved essential parts of its statist and paternalistic structure (Novy et al., 2001), the latter evolved into (and in part returned to) a more liberal regime with stronger civic engagement (van Duijne & Ronald 2018), although the city's policies have amplified socio-spatial inequalities in the past through market-oriented housing restructuring (Hochstenbach & Ronald, 2020). Both cities maintain strong municipal autonomy (Savini et al., 2016), enabling a comparison between two cities that highly value affordable housing, but react differently to contemporary marketisation pressures. Budapest's housing regime shares commonalities with Vienna due to historical and geographical affinities (Weinzierl et al. 2017), but experienced heavy retrenchment of its former public-housing sector and liberalisation of rent regulation after 1990, leading to an unconsolidated regime primarily based on home ownership and informality in the rental sector (Hegedüs, 2017; Czirfusz, 2019). Additionally, municipal autonomy decreased sharply due to increasing state centralisation, while reliance on EU funding increased (Varró & Bunders, 2020).

### **Fieldwork**

The investigation will start with an in-depth analysis of the Viennese housing regime based on existing extensive research (Novy et al., 2001; Matznetter, 2002; Kadi, 2015; Reinprecht, 2017; Novy et al., 2018; Novy et al., 2019; Bärnthaler et al., 2020). In a second step, the obtained knowledge will guide housing-regime analyses in Amsterdam and Budapest. Our regime analysis will investigate policies and informal and official documents and expert interviews in the three global cities. The comparison of these three global cities, including one post-socialist city, represents a desideratum.

#### **2.2.1 The Contested Principle of Market-Exchange in Asset-Based Welfare (Hans Volmary)**

This sub-project systematises Polanyian research on housing provision and focuses on movements towards marketisation in the field of housing by analysing home ownership, a mode of provisioning dominated by market-exchange. The research object is a concrete form of provisioning embedded in a specific housing regime. Case-study

analyses will focus on investment apartments as a form of asset-based welfare, explicitly framed as investment opportunities (cf. Ronald et al., 2017 for a differentiation), targeting the upper middle-class. Although dominated by market principles, its provisioning is a hybrid assemblage of economic principles and IL.

The sub-project's **thesis** is that financialisation is a concrete manifestation of fictitious commodification (Polanyi, 2001: 79), undermines the provisioning of affordable housing and exacerbates other forms of inequality based on class, gender, ethnicity, and age. It scrutinises how mundane everyday practices and embodied experiences shape and are shaped by urban structures across different contexts (Leitner et al., 2019: 11), how certain policies (e.g. on subsidising homeownership) favour marketisation, which strategies key actors use to promote their interests (e.g. co-opting political actors or promoting liberalisation of rent regulation) and how this normalises certain practices, like responsabilisation (e.g. via accumulating private debt to buy secondary properties), that result from financialisation.

The ensuing empirical investigation aims to answer the following **questions**: How do investment apartments combine different principles of economic behaviour and institutional logics? How does financialisation (re)produce other forms of inequality? How do policies, practices and strategies advance the dominance of market principles in investment apartments, and how is this contested? The **objective** is to investigate how the provisioning of housing and the dominant economic principles and IL are configured in the field of asset-based welfare, how this impacts forms of inequality and how this is associated with financialisation.

### **State-of-the-art research, desiderata, research agenda**

This sub-project understands financialisation as a specific form of commodification, representing specific accumulation strategies to increase “improvement”, productivity and profitability, triggering social responses of decommodification (Polanyi, 2001: 35 pp., 79, 139). The financialisation of housing (Schwartz & Seabrooke, 2008; Heeg, 2013) is an important dynamic in current politico-economic restructuring. The sub-project, therefore, employs a “political economy approach” (Aalbers, 2016) to deepen the understanding of conflicting and hybrid IL and principles of economic behaviour by focusing on accumulation strategies, state regulation and housing finance.

The “political economy approach” has been applied primarily in national housing studies (Metzger, 2020; Gallent, 2019), but also in studies at urban and regional levels (Wetzstein 2019, van Loon et al. 2019). Political-economy analysis will be supplemented by an analysis of mundane everyday practices and embodied experiences (Leitner et al., 2019; FEC, 2018), i.e. how financialisation materialises in everyday life. This sub-project analyses in how far housing has been transformed from a socio-economic good to an asset-class. Financialisation facilitates the treatment of housing as a normal commodity (Rolnik, 2013; Forrest & Hirayama, 2015), having distinct implications for asset-based welfare (Ronald et al. 2017; Wind et al. 2020). As investment apartments become fictitious capital by being securitised (Aalbers & Engelen, 2015), they complete their metamorphosis towards “genuine financialisation” (Belina, 2017: 43, our trans.). This leads to an understanding of the home as wealth storage, which allows households “to redistribute this wealth over the life cycle” (Montgomerie & Büdenbender, 2015: 390), but it simultaneously increases household debt without guaranteed stable returns (ibid.: 392).

While investment apartments are an emblematic form of asset-based welfare, it manifests in hybrid configurations of economic principles and ILs of state, family and corporations. State logics can foster “deregulated and reregulated contours of neoliberal globalisation” (Forrest & Hirayama, 2015: 5) While asset-based welfare strengthens marketised practices, it legitimises itself discursively by reference to intergenerational and inter-familial forms of solidarity and reciprocity (Ronald et al., 2015). Corporations, following global logics of shareholder-value maximisation, marginalise logics of community and collective concerns for neighbourhood development.

Concrete forms of asset-based welfare are always contextual and shaped by multi-scalar processes (Wind et al., 2020). Varying economic principles and IL lead to the formation of complementary and competing policies, practices and strategies. Housing policies are shaped by discourses that responsabilise individuals (Heeg 2013) and legitimise reduced public-welfare expenditure (Searle & McCollum, 2014). Asset-based welfare policies have been supported by changes in national and regional fiscal regimes (eg. tax deduction) and actively promoted by EU institutions (Ronald, 2008; Montgomerie & Büdenbender, 2015). Home purchases are considered to be economic drivers in what Crouch (2009) calls “privatised Keynesianism”. Policy instruments that

promote individual asset-building through homeownership include publicly funded savings banks (Doling & Ronald, 2010) or right-to-buy programmes (Forrest & Murie, 1988; Jones & Murie, 2006; Ronald, 2012).

For households to become investors, new practices are required. Taking up debt has become a routinised behaviour in order to acquire home-ownership as opposed to other asset classes, leading to the financialisation of everyday life (Langley, 2020, Pellandind-Simanyi, 2015). Households, as “saver-investors” (Doling & Ronald, 2010: 168) incorporate financialised practices and mimic professional investors in their decisions and risk-taking (Wijburg, 2020). Further, the “generational contract” has changed, leading to new inequalities (Arundel, 2017). Younger generations become marginalised with regard to access to home ownership, and staying or moving back with parents has become common (Arundel & Hochstenbach 2019; Arundel & Lennartz, 2017; Lennartz et al., 2016). Younger cohorts without inheritance endowments find home ownership increasingly difficult because of house-price inflation (Lennartz et al., 2015; McKee, 2012), reinforcing intergenerational inequalities (Montgomerie & Büdenbender, 2015; Arundel, 2017) and concentrating housing wealth in upper-income groups (Christophers, 2018).

The state, often captured by property-friendly interests, has increasingly replaced publicly-funded pension and other welfare schemes by asset-based welfare (Kemeny, 1995; Castles, 1998; Doling & Ronald, 2010; Wind et al., 2020), thereby transferring responsibility from the state to the individual (Crouch, 2009; Watson, 2010; Heeg, 2013). Banks form strategic alliances with the real-estate sector, as both profit from constructing, financing and/or managing investment apartments (Aigner, 2019; Amann & Mundt, 2018). Wealthier households are able to cope better with new risks associated with debt accumulation, employing different strategies to optimise market entry and make profitable decisions with the long-term proactive strategies to amass housing wealth (Ronald et al., 2017: 174; cf. Wind et al., 2020). All this impacts on other forms of inequality and socio-economic polarisation (Reichle & Kuschinski, 2020; Piketty, 2014).

## **Field Work**

The jointly conducted regime analysis (2.2) will be contextualised by investigating recently-constructed buildings where investment apartments are on offer. An analysis of

the political economy of asset-based welfare will be carried out in all three cities, using document and policy analysis, secondary data and episodic interviews. The empirical research contains six case studies of buildings where investment apartments are on offer (two in every city). For each case, documents like, policy briefs, website contents, strategy papers, mission statements, memos, internal and external reports will be analysed. Key actors in asset-based welfare are private households that become investors and the case studies involve four episodic interviews per case with those households. They will have different socio-economic backgrounds, in order to scrutinise variations in asset-based welfare, which have been largely investigated in quantitative terms (Wind et al. 2020).

### **2.2.2 The Contested Principle of Reciprocity in Collaborative Housing (Benjamin Baumgartner)**

This sub-project focuses on countermovements against marketisation and respective modes of provisioning that aim to strengthen social protection in the field of housing. In-depth case study analyses will investigate collaborative housing initiatives as concrete forms of provisioning, dominated by the economic principle of reciprocity. Although reciprocity is dominant, its concrete form of provisioning in collaborative is always a hybrid assemblage of different economic principles and IL. The sub-project's research object are concrete forms of provisioning embedded in respective housing regimes: socially innovative collaborative housing initiatives characterized by cooperative arrangements novel to the local housing context.

The sub-project's **thesis** is that collaborative housing constitutes a countermovement to marketisation that aims to protect the provision of affordable and sustainable housing. It explores the new wave of collaborative housing, focusing on key actors in the respective housing regimes, especially municipalities, limited-profit housing associates, private housing companies, financial institutions and civic initiatives. The project aims to scrutinise how certain policies (e.g. smart city; construction subsidies) push for, but sometimes also contest, community engagement to (re)build habitation, changing practices and strategies that key actors deploy to promote their interests (e.g. lobbying to change zoning regulations and increase public subsidies; opening new investment opportunities, accessing new target groups). Furthermore, the sub-project explores whether collaborative housing initiatives are concrete manifestations of a

broader “community shift”, studied so far mainly in the SoC. The **objective** is to investigate how collaborative housing manifests itself through particular policies, strategies and practices, and how this is contested in concrete forms of provisioning.

The ensuing empirical investigation aims to answer the following **questions**: How do collaborative housing initiatives combine different principles of economic behaviour and institutional logics? To what extent is collaborative housing part of a broader community shift, and how does this reduce or (re)produce forms of inequality? How do policies, practices and strategies advance reciprocal modes of provision, and how is this contested?

### **State-of-the-art research, desiderata, research agenda**

The sub-project uses “collaborative housing” as an umbrella term to capture different forms of housing provision with varying degrees of participatory and community engagement (Lang et al., 2018; Czischke et al., 2020) that foster reciprocity and habitation. It is a growing and diverse research and policy field ranging from small-scale resident-led initiatives (like Baugruppen) to partnership projects where established developers or housing associations invite participation from future residents. In this regard, Czischke (2017) identifies a “continuum of user involvement in collaborative housing”. Some initiatives have a long history, often as informal and bottom-up initiatives (Novy, 1993), but most institutionalised housing cooperatives mainly developed after 1945, when they surfaced as a key vehicle of affordable housing (Lang & Novy, 2014). Currently, a “new wave of collaborative housing” is unfolding across Europe (Hagbert et al., 2020; Lang et al., 2018; Vestbro, 2010). Contemporary initiatives are characterised by increasing cooperation among actors as well as institutional complexity and hybridity (Van Bortel et al., 2018). In this sub-project, the potential of this phenomenon will be explored, investigating diverse forms of collaborative housing as well as key actors in the respective housing regime (from municipalities to financing institutions). This interdisciplinary approach will enrich understandings of this emerging but under-researched and under-theorised field of research and policy-making.

Collaborative housing reinforces the trend towards more community engagement in affordable housing (Voorberg et al., 2015; Gruber & Lang, 2018; Van Bortel et al., 2019). This sub-project investigates how this trend – conceptualised as a community shift in the SoC - unfolds in different housing regimes. The literature evaluates the

growing importance of community, civil society and participatory engagement ambivalently: some scholars problematise civil society involvement and responsabilisation in times of state withdrawal from direct provisioning (Flint, 2004; Heeg, 2013), while others highlight potential benefits such as greater social cohesion and social capital, or the fulfilment of more diverse housing needs (Lang & Novy, 2014). In this sense, this reorganisation of the state-society relation is “Janus-faced”, covering innovative and de-commodified forms of housing provisioning, but also risking privatization and reinforcing existing inequalities (Swyngedouw, 2005). Concrete outcomes largely depend on the way municipalities and established limited-profit housing developers interrelate with collaborative initiatives (for instance, through developers’ competitions). Even though civic initiatives in general aim to operate with maximum independence from state and market actors, almost all depend on access to financial resources (e.g. credit, subsidies) as well as legal support from the public sector, and a political will to integrate collaborative housing initiatives in affordable housing schemes (e.g. through land subsidies) or at least to create relatively protected spaces for self-organisation (Hagbert et al., 2020). In this regard, small-scale resident-led initiatives of the “new wave” of collaborative housing often cooperate with established collaborative housing providers, creating a contested and changing landscape in which the state can intervene to extend or restrict community and market involvement. Consequently, the community shift may lead to de-commodification (e.g. housing syndicates), but might also support financialisation (Wijburg et al., 2018).

The sub-project investigates novel forms of housing provision, how they are impacted by the community shift and how this results in new configurations and contestations. The involvement of diverse private and public actors cutting across different economic sectors and public institutions is leading to increased institutional complexity (Mullins, 2006; Van Bortel et al., 2018) and changing power relations. The sub-project will draw on the IL perspective to analyse how state logics (e.g. via corporatist tax and subsidy structures, bureaucratic and/or outsourced state agencies) or family logics (different ways of doing family between the nuclear and the wider family of the collaborative initiative or even the neighbourhood as well as new intergenerational configurations) influence the manifestation of collaborative housing forms (Wasshede, 2020). The sub-project will contribute to research introduced by Gruber & Lang (2018) on collaborative housing models in Vienna by investigating strategies and practices of key actors (e.g.

how do they legitimize their strategies and practices; how do they change and contest business models?)

Lang et al., (2018) argue that discursive policy frameworks like “Smart City” and “Social Sustainability” legitimise ideas of resident and community participation in Vienna. The way municipalities integrate or create new collaborative elements in existing affordable-housing schemes is crucial for collaborative housing initiatives, as they heavily depend on public financial and legal support. In this context, land and direct producer subsidies have been identified as key policy measures that support collaborative housing by reducing costs of production and generating additional finance (Gruber & Lang, 2018; Hagbert et al., 2020). These policies may alter practices and strategies of relevant actors that seek to benefit from the community shift. At the same time, housing associations or resident groups may pursue strategies to change existing policies and practices. Strategies include cooperation among established and resident-led initiatives, for instance to succeed in developer competitions, lobbying to change ownership structures or affordable-housing schemes (Gruber & Lang, 2018). Relevant practices include the changing cooperation between housing professionals and future residents as well as the everyday collective practices that initiatives try to promote (e.g. a more gendered division of household labour [Vestbro et al., 2012] or enhancing sustainability through communal spaces and activities [Schäfer et al., 2018]). Collaborative strategies and practices may be primarily inward looking (among residents) or also aim to change the relationship between the initiative and the living environment, for example via neighbourhood events (Thompson, 2018).

Finally, the sub-project analyses diverse inequalities accompanying collaborative housing projects. In established cooperatives, there is a shift from predominantly working-class to middle-class residents, due to required deposits that are unaffordable for low-income households (Kadi, 2015; Lang et al., 2018). Scholars warn of social exclusion (Droste, 2016) and the gentrification-enhanced role that collaborative housing initiatives might play (Hagbert et al., 2020). However, initiatives continue to manoeuvre between radical niches and a middle-class-dominated milieu (Thörn et al., 2020). Therefore, the sub-project will investigate respective resident compositions in the concrete forms of provisioning in the three global cities, how these collaborative housing initiatives are embedded in the neighbourhood and whether and how they form part of urban renewal and social mixing strategies (Thörn et al., 2020).

## **Field Work**

The empirical investigation is based on six contrasting case studies in the three global cities: (1) three resident-led small-scale and (2) three large-scale institutionalised initiatives. This will allow a systematic comparison of forms of inequality, especially gender inequality, socio-spatial polarisation, and gentrification. The collaborative housing field in Vienna will constitute the empirical entry point. Episodic interviews (four per case study) will be conducted with initiators and members as well as involved housing professionals of selected collaborative housing initiatives, and will be combined with extensive document and policy analysis (e.g. policy and strategy reports, websites).

### 3 Methodological Design and Interdisciplinary and Cross-field Added Value

#### 3.1 Methods

The research design of this project builds on a mix of qualitative methods and is based on reconstructive social research (Bohnsack, 2014) to understand policies, practices, and strategies in care and housing provision in their interaction with normative, institutional and discursive orders of care and housing regimes. This design enables the two teams (care and housing) and four sub-projects to investigate economic principles and IL in field-specific contexts and to show how they shape the contested modes and forms of provisioning and go along with social inequalities. The DOC-team makes use of a set of qualitative methods that allows to combine in-depth and comparative analyses of the fields and cases.

**Document analysis** – applied in the regime analyses and case studies – addresses and reconstructs policies and strategies and their normative, institutional and discursive background within the fields. It takes into account "the original purpose of each document, the context in which it was produced, and the intended audience" (Bowen, 2009: 38). The selection of document types is field-dependent and will be developed in the sub-projects and the multi-scalar regime analyses, consulting documents from different levels. **Qualitative content analysis** is chosen to give special attention to the diversity of conflicting meanings and contextual codes which root in the normative, institutional and discursive order of the care and housing regimes, the included social inequalities and the economic behaviour and IL shaping the modes and forms of care and housing provision. Table 3 shows which documents will be scrutinised on which level of analysis.

**Expert interviews** (cf. Meuser & Nagel, 2013) form part of the regime analysis and further contextualise and systematise the findings in each city. The expertise of interviewees will supply field-specific knowledge and elucidate how important stakeholders reflect on the respective market or community shift in the field, describe the challenges they are facing and their own policies and strategies to influence the modes and forms of care and housing provision. Expert interviews represent an integral pillar of our regime analyses, as we expect to obtain useful empirical results concerning the movements and countermovements in the fields of care and housing. Furthermore, their triangulation allows to compare double movements in the fields and to point out the commonalities and differences between the contestation of care and housing provision

in the three GC. Every regime analysis in each city will comprise five expert interviews, adding up to 15 expert interviews for each team (care and housing) and a total of 30 expert interviews for the whole project. Findings will be evaluated by **qualitative content analysis**, in particular by coding as described by Kuckartz (2012). By developing and employing a common coding scheme across all four sub-projects from the start, we ensure consistency and comparability, facilitate triangulation and foster synergies and learning processes between the sub-projects. Therefore, research memos, which allow comparison of non-verbal and communicative details of interviews, are compiled. The personal interpretations of interviewer and interviewee go together: in this sense, it is a co-construction of researchers and participants.

In the case studies of the sub-projects, **episodic interviews** with involved actors and document analyses – see table 3 showing the documents and the method description – will be employed to investigate the forms of care and housing provision, their underlying economic principles, institutional logics and social inequalities. Through episodic interviews, the sub-projects seek to reconstruct the policies, practices and strategies of the involved actors and their underlying experience, motivation, behaviour and action. The aim is "to enable the presentation of experiences in general, comparative [...] form" (Flick, 2011: 139, our trans.) by talking about episodes of everyday life (Flick, 2010). Thereby, the sub-projects strive to understand how the involved actors become part of the movements and countermovements and the creation and contestation of market- and reciprocity-based care and housing provision and how they influence them. In each sub-project, 24 episodic interviews will be conducted (eight interviews in each city). The **documentary method** will be employed jointly to interpret the narratives of the episodic interviews and to reconstruct "the implicit knowledge that underlies everyday practice and gives an orientation to habitualized actions independent of individual intentions and motives" (Bohnsack, 2010: 20). Furthermore, the comparative case- and field-triangulation is key, "because the framework of orientation takes shape and can be empirically examined only in comparison to those of other groups or other cases" (ibid.: 110). We make use of the documentary method to investigate whether there are common or different "frameworks of orientation" with respect to the economic behavior, IL and social inequalities in care and housing provision and the respective policies, practices and strategies of the actors. This allows to point out the differences

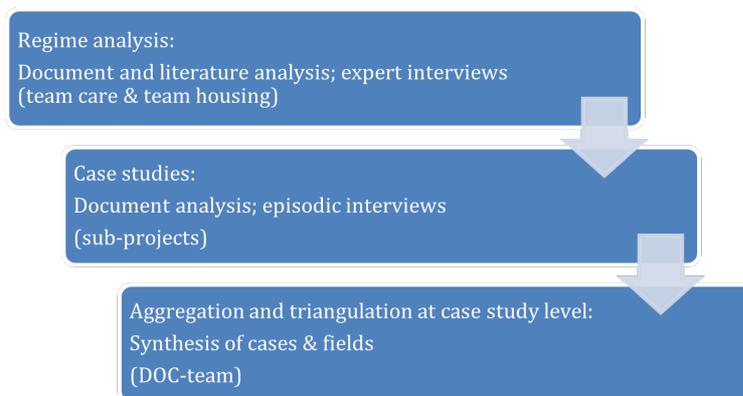
and communalities in the contestation of market- and reciprocity-based forms of care and housing provision in the three GC.

**Table 3: Methods, Sources, and Information Gain by Stages**

Method	Sources (not exhaustive)	Information gain
<b>Stage 1 – Regime analyses</b>		
Document-, policy-, and secondary data analysis	Eurostat, OECD, European Commission, national databases, laws, policies, directives and reports, municipal databases, laws, regulations and reports	European, National and City data (legal and fiscal framework, aids, grants and subsidies, etc.), inequality (socio-economic, gender, race, spatial), financialisation, welfare and urban development (European competition directives, care and housing regulations, EU urban agenda, URBACT, Eurocities, European Agenda on Migration), State-of-the-art research, municipal databases, reports
Expert interviews	Stakeholder like public servants, politicians, civil society organisations (CSOs), scholars, consultants, unions, local key actors (public, civil and business)	Field knowledge; experts' perspectives on the market and community shift in the care and housing regimes, policies and strategies of the stakeholders, differences and commonalities between the care regimes and modes of care and housing provision in the GC
<b>Stage 2 – Sub-project</b>		
Document analysis	Reports, websites, policy papers	(self-)presentation of the forms of care and housing provision, mission statements, care and housing concepts, addressees, policies and strategies and their inherent economic behavior, IL and social inequalities
Episodic interviews	live-ins, management and administrative personnel of live-in-care agencies, recruiters, works councils, quality management, involved actors (volunteers and professionals) and relatives of the elderly; investor-households, residents (in collaborative housing and of investment apartments), housing activists	Experiences, motives and orientation of the actors in the field; significance of economic behavior, IL and social inequalities for their policies, practices, strategies, differences and commonalities between the fields and cases of care and housing in the GC

We conduct field-specific syntheses based on regime analysis and case-study level aggregation (by the care and housing team). Through the case studies we emphasise the special logic (cf. Bude, 1988) of the concrete forms of care and housing and underlying structures of meaning, which vary from case to case. Therefore, in "collection,

evaluation and interpretation, it is important to always follow the many facets of the case, to present it as comprehensively as possible in its complexity" (Hering & Schmid, 2014: 530; our trans.). Our research design applies methodical **triangulation**, investigating the research object multi-perspectively and interdisciplinarily. Jointly-conducted regime analyses and the synthesis of field-specific results from the case studies enable a reflective research practice (cf. May & Perry, 2013) that avoids idiosyncratic field interpretations. The figure below depicts the research process as a three-step approach to data evaluation and interpretation.



*Figure 1: Research Process*

### 3.2 Interdisciplinary and Cross-field Added Value

The DOC-team has formulated common questions and elaborated a joint theoretical, conceptual and methodological research design. The applied methodologies and conceptualisation use insights from different PhD programmes and disciplines, particularly humanities and cultural studies, with a focus on sociology (Valentin Fröhlich), social sciences, economics and business with a focus on sociology (Florian Pimminger) socio-economics (Benjamin Baumgartner), and economic geography (Hans Volmary), for multi- and interdisciplinary research. This is expected to bring substantial added value to research in the fields of care and housing. For too long, care and housing have been treated as separate fields of inquiry. Although there are recent attempts at integrating research (Reichle & Kuschinski, 2020), there remains substantial benefit in systematically combining insights from both strands of research. Filling this research gap is a key desideratum of the DOC-Team. To achieve this, a systematic triangulation of results across cases and fields is implemented.

The trifold triangulation followed by the DOC-Team will lead to different types of added value: (1) triangulation of methods, (2) field-specific triangulation of cases (movements and countermovements in the respective fields) and (3) triangulation between fields (commonalities and differences between care and housing) and theoretical debates.

1) In a first step, the two fields will be investigated separately with a common methodology that will be applied in a field-specific way to best assess the provision of housing and care. The interdisciplinary cross-field design of the DOC-team allows fruitful combination of insights from research. The combined work therefore incorporates insights from comprehensive research on care regimes (Leibfingler & Prieler, 2018; Chorus, 2013; Dammayr, 2019), as well as from diverse approaches on housing regimes and related concepts (Clapham, 2018; Ruonavaara, 2020; Matznetter & Mundt, 2012).

2) Field-specific triangulation of the cases will systematically relate dynamics of marketisation and social protection in housing and care. It will explain whether and to what extent there are dynamics of a Polanyian double movement in elderly care and housing. Following Polanyi, these double movements are considered dialectically, bearing in mind that dynamics of social protection are never singular, nor predictable (Peck, 2013). This triangulation includes the analysis of the respective regimes in three GC, based on a consecutive research design. Field-specific triangulation of the cases and context-specific knowledge will serve as a base for Part 3 below.

3) Triangulation based on field comparison can build on rich empirical insights in the respective fields and specific disciplinary analyses and can be combined with theoretical debates. Both care and housing are key economic sectors of the foundational economy (FEC, 2018), but are seldom analysed in an integrated way. Separate analysis is also the starting point in this DOC-Team: Elderly care is investigated from a SoC perspective, combined with insight from Foucauldian analyses, while housing is investigated from a political-economy perspective, embedded in socio-economics and geography. It is a key desideratum of the DOC-team to enrich the respective disciplinary analyses by stressing the commonalities of a foundational approach, as well as a Polanyian approach prioritising the provisioning of essential goods and services. Within housing research, analysis often focuses on the home as “the single largest asset in people’s everyday lives” (Schwartz & Seabrooke, 2008: 1), neglecting intersectional inequalities as well as gendered divisions of labour in paid and unpaid work (Hughes

& Wright, 2018). This broadened perspective on sustaining foundational activities focuses on everyday practices in and around the home and neighbourhood (Beebejaun, 2017; Dalla Costa, 2019). In SoC there is an elaborated strand of research on domestic work and care with strong traditions that investigates their commodification and transnationalisation including respective forms of governance and social inequalities in relations of gender, race, and class (e.g. Andersen & Shutes, 2014). Furthermore, there are many studies on care brokering by home care agencies and the respective forms of live-in care provision and also an increasing vein of research on caring communities (see the state-of-the-art research in 2.1). Comparison between market-based live-in care and community-based care is rarely done (e.g. Haubner, 2017); systematic comparison between care and housing provision is a blank space.

The DOC-team bridges the gap between care and housing studies by picking up the phenomenon of the market and community shift in both fields and their contestation, theorizing them in a Polanyian and IL perspective. This allows to discuss the empirical results concerning the commonalities and differences between the fields as well as the theoretical approach in the wider context of the international debate on care and housing. Part of the dissemination strategy of the DOC-team therefore is the organization of (mini-)conferences which allow to bring international scholars from both strands of research and the respective disciplines into intense exchange.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> We would like to thank Roland Atzmüller, Johann Bacher, Richard Bärnthaler, Robert Bauer, Maria Dammayr, Jürgen Essletzbichler, Barbara Haas, Thomas Gegenhuber, Dorothea Greiling, Justin Kadi, Jakob Kapeller, Michael Leibfinger, Maria Markantonatou, Uli Meyer, Susanne Pernicka, Leonhard Plank, Veronika Prieler, Friedrich Schneider, Elke Schüßler, Elisabeth Springler, Claus Thomasberger very much for their helpful comments preparing the oral presentation of the research concept at the ÖAW.

## 4 Work Schedule

Tasks	Time Period	Fall 21	Spring 22	Fall 22	Spring 23	Fall 23	Spring 24
<b>Regime Analyses</b>							
Vienna	Aug 21 – Oct. 21						
Budapest	Nov 21 – Jan 22						
Amsterdam	Feb 22 – Apr 22						
Literature Review; Expert Interviews	Aug 21 – Apr. 22						
Evaluation and Interpretation	May 22 – Jun 22						
<b>Research Stays and Case Studies</b>							
Vienna	Jul 22 – Sep 22						
Budapest	Nov 22 – Jan 23						
Amsterdam	Mar 23 – May 23						
Transcription; Completion of the Data Set	Jul 23 – Sep 23						
Evaluation and Discussion	Oct 23 – Dec 23						
<b>Finalization of Dissertations</b>	Jan 24 – Jul 24						
<b>Planned Workshops and Conferences</b>	May 22; Jun 23; Jun 24						

## **B. Supervising and Mentoring Concept**

**Brigitte Aulenbacher and Andreas Novy**

### **1 Research and Field Experience of the supervisors and mentors**

The authors of this concept will serve as lead supervisors and mentors of the planned DOC-team. Prof. Dr. Brigitte Aulenbacher is professor of sociological theory and social analysis, and head of the Department of the Theory of Society and Social Analyses, Institute of Sociology, Johannes Kepler University Linz (overseeing PhD candidates Valentin Fröhlich and Florian Pimminger). Prof. Dr. Andreas Novy is associate professor of socio-economics, and head of the Institute for Multi-Level Governance and Development, Department of Socio-Economics, WU Vienna (overseeing PhD candidates Benjamin Baumgartner and Hans Volmary).

They have previously worked together in different contexts, mainly within the framework of the International Karl Polanyi Society (IKPS), founded in 2018, of which Andreas Novy is president and Brigitte Aulenbacher vice-president. Their collaborations have resulted not only in publications, but in international conferences and exhibitions awarded by the Kurt-Rothschild-Preis 2019. Their work has also fostered interand trans-disciplinary competences as well as international partnerships in their respective international scientific communities. In addition, Brigitte Aulenbacher has addressed areas including the theory of society, analyses of contemporary capitalism, international sociology of care, labor studies, and gender studies. Andreas Novy's research covers urban studies, including the fields of housing, socio-economics, political economy, social innovation, and foundational economy. Both are strongly involved in international research networks in the fields of care and socio-economics respectively; they have published widely in ranked journals, edited special issues, and had books published.

This research profile qualifies them to supervise and mentor the DOC-team and to move towards embedding PhD candidates' research in established international collaborations, involving experts – both young and established – from different strands and disciplines to discuss theoretical approaches, methods and findings in the field of care and housing. Additionally, their common work draws on experience with the successful DOC-team 67 “Legitime Leistungspolitikern” (2013-2016, three scientific awards, one of them for interdisciplinary work) co-mentored by Brigitte Aulenbacher.

## **2 Supervision and Mentoring Program**

Supervising and mentoring is to be organised at three levels: First, the supervisors and mentors will offer specific orientation and disciplinary advice for each sub-project, in collaboration with the care and housing team. They will offer interdisciplinary advice and support to maintain the coherence of the DOC-team, managing differences and commonalities between research in the fields of care and housing. Second, the planned DOC-team will benefit from an international and interdisciplinary advisory board, with three highly respected experts as consultants and collaborators. Third, the leading international experts who will host the DOC-team in Delft/Amsterdam and Budapest will add to the mentoring process by offering insights from their own research, and external critiques as well as interdisciplinary inputs to grasp the 'bigger picture' of the contested provisioning of care and housing. Advisors as well as hosts will be invited to serve as second and third reviewers of the doctoral theses of the four PhD candidates (in accordance with the PhD programs of JKU Linz and WU Vienna).

Challenges encountered in the theoretical and empirical research and interdisciplinary and international collaboration during the individual researches as well as in DOC teamwork will be addressed on a regular basis with the supervisors. Further, preliminary results of the research process will be discussed in the DOC-team as well as in the PhD programs of the two universities. The supervisors and mentors will give support and feedback regarding the preparation of public presentations, especially during the three workshops organised within the DOC-Team and in national and international conferences.

### **2.1 Intensive Supervision of each Sub-project**

Ongoing advice will be facilitated informally, through the physical proximity of the PhD students and supervisors at the respective institutes. Formal supervision will function according to the PhD programs at the universities where the PhD candidates participate in seminars and colloquia; their respective presentations will be prepared and discussed with the supervisors. At the core of supervision in the DOC-team, there will be regular one- or two-day project meetings, to discuss (1) methodological and theoretical questions of the sub-projects, the care and housing team and the joint DOC-Team, and (2) organisational issues related to participation in conferences, publications, travel plans and possibilities for professional training. Finally, the supervisors

and mentors will work as consultants concerning international collaboration, facilitating contacts in the respective disciplinary and interdisciplinary scientific communities.

## **2.2 Advisory Board**

The advisory board is composed of three well-respected professors from different disciplines, each with extensive experience in interdisciplinary and collaborative research in the fields of care and/or housing:

Julie Froud, professor of financial innovation at the University of Manchester, is a member of the Organisations and Society subject group in the People, Management and Organisations division of Alliance Manchester Business School, and of the Foundational Economy Collective, with a focus on alternative welfare measures, housing and care. She has published widely in the field of financialisation, privatisation, local and regional development.

Cornelia Klinger, associate professor at the University of Tübingen, is a philosopher whose main research areas are political philosophy, cultural philosophy, theory of society, care, and care work. She has contributed pioneering studies on modernity, capitalism, care and social inequalities, and published on the historical development of care and care work as well as on its significance and organisation in contemporary societies.

Flavia Martinelli is a professor at the Department of Architecture and Territory, Mediterranean University of Reggio Calabria, in Italy. She has participated in several EU-funded international research projects and has published widely in the fields of urban and regional development, social innovation, social services, and public policies in Europe.

The tasks of the advisory board will be as follows:

The advisors will watch over the implementation of the project from outside, and participate in the annual retreat and public research workshops. They will provide written and oral feedback on annual progress reports, including any criticism of present research proceedings as well as suggestions for improvements. The objective of the annual retreats is to offer space for individual and collective feedback in an internal, and therefore protected, setting; they are scheduled immediately before the public research workshops, to reduce travel expenses.

### **2.3 International Hosts and Collaboration Partners**

The unique format of the DOC-team should enable the PhD candidates to gain experience in international research institutions. Three international cooperation partners will host the PhD students in three-month study trips or visits abroad:

Ewald Engelen, is a full professor of financial geography at the Department of Human Geography, Planning and International Development at the University of Amsterdam, and member of the Foundational Economy Collective. His individual research as well as the Research group Geographies of Globalization focus on financialisation, international financial centers, and the foundational economy.

Maarten van Ham, is professor of urban geography and chair of the Department of Urbanism at the Faculty of Architecture and the Built Environment at Delft University of Technology. His research focuses on neighbourhood development, urban renewal, segregation, global cities, public housing and diverse forms of inequality. Currently, he is executing DEPRIVEDHOODS, a 5-year research project funded by the ERC on “Socio-spatial inequality, deprived neighbourhoods, and neighbourhood effects”.

Tamás Bartos is professor of sociology and the deputy director of the Institute of Sociology and Social Policy at the Corvinus University of Budapest. He is an expert in quantitative social research and demography. Attila Melegh, is associate professor at the Institute of Sociology and Social Policy and founding director of the Karl Polanyi Research Center for Global Social Studies at the Corvinus University of Budapest. He has published widely on global social change, international migration, population discourses and comparative 25 historical analysis. He served as president of the Steering Committee of the European Network in Universal and Global History between 2014 and 2017.

Hosts and partners have immense experience in interdisciplinary research in housing and/or care, with deepened scholarship in socio-spatial dynamics (van Ham, Engelen), demographic change (van Ham, Melegh) and Polanyi (Engelen, Melegh). They will work with the PhD students in research at the host institution, and will offer individual advice, where necessary, on the sub-projects in their respective locations.

Of particular importance will be their role as gatekeepers, assisting access to data and literature as well as interview partners and stakeholders. This integration with the hosting institutes will facilitate elements of the case-study research as well as help to fine-tune conceptual and theoretical topics. Research in Amsterdam and Budapest will

serve data collection and the interpretation of appropriate research as well as aid familiarisation with the research activities of the host institution. This will stimulate new theoretical and methodological insights, and allow candidates to feed into the international scientific community, thereby establishing a personal international network.

The supervisors, advisors and international hosts – as co-organisers and/or contributors – will take part in the research workshops.

### **3 Research Workshops**

In combination with the annual meetings of the advisory board, three public research workshops will be held, in 2022, 2023 and 2024. They will be formulated as (mini-) conferences, with proper Calls for Papers announced through the usual distribution channels of the relevant scientific community; incoming abstracts will be reviewed for quality control. Besides the PhD candidates, supervisors, advisors and hosting partners, additional speakers from different disciplinary and interdisciplinary strands of research will be invited, according to workshop topic. Being open to broader participation, there will be opportunity for joint public academic discussions on international and interdisciplinary state-of-the-art research on care and housing as well as on theoretical approaches and methods. Furthermore, younger researchers will be able to forge networks with older scholars as well as their peers.

All workshops will be organised by the two supervisors' institutes, in collaboration with the hosting institutes and the International Karl Polanyi Society. The supervisors will oversee workshop content and design jointly with the PhD students. Workshop outcomes will be published.

Preliminary workshop topics are:

Workshop May 2022 – Polanyian perspectives on care and housing:

In the last decade, Polanyian thoughts and concepts – in particular “fictitious commodities”, “double movement”, the distinction between “improvement and habitation”, the economic principles of market-“exchange”, redistribution, reciprocity and householding, “machine age”, the vision of “freedom in a complex society” – have been revised for the analysis of contemporary societies. This workshop will consider scholars drawing on general Polanyian approaches and seek to relate their insights to research on care and housing. It will stimulate discussion on how Polanyi’s economic, social, and

cultural history of industrialism and capitalism might be applied for the analysis of contemporary developments in the two fields. Due space will be made to consider on the one hand the limits of a Polanyian perspective and on the other how a Polanyian perspective might be enriched by other theoretical approaches.

Workshop 2023 – Theorising societies in transformation:

This workshop will strive to embed the DOC-team research into wider debates on societies in transformation and will focus on theoretical debates across a range of international and interdisciplinary scientific associations and journals (eg. SASE, ESA, ISA, IKPS, Foundational Economy Collective, DEPRIVEDHOODS). It assumes that market and community shifts in the field of care and housing are part of economic, ecological, social, political and cultural developments in many spheres of society, economy and everyday life. Aiming to bring together experts from different strands of research and disciplines, it will discuss how theoretical work is challenged by societies in transformation and how different theoretical approaches meet these challenges. The objective is to discuss the Polanyian approach and Institutional Logics perspective of the DOC-team with experts from other strands of theoretical work, and to explore how different theories aid comprehension of contemporary developments.

Workshop 2024 – Between market and community shift? Contested provisioning of care and housing:

This international workshop will present the results of the DOC-team to a broader academic and nonacademic audience, bringing to discussion the findings and results of the research in Vienna, Budapest and Amsterdam. Involved will be scientific experts as well as representatives of stakeholders in the field of care and housing. The workshop will embed and compare the results of the DOC-team with research from other countries, global cities, urban and rural regions, thereby, contributing to the mapping of developments in the field of care and housing in Europe, and contextualising the team's own findings. Furthermore, it is hoped to bridge the gap between care and housing studies by pooling insights from both fields and discussing commonalities and differences. The DOC-team plans to publish papers and collections drawing on the mini-conferences and to collaborate with the advisory board as well as the international hosts on the publication and dissemination of the results.



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